

FATEFUL PART PLAYED BY THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS

These Have in Several Presidential Campaigns Turned the Tide of Success.

COMPASSED DEFEAT OF CLAY

Hon. James G. Birney, the Liberal Candidate, Brought This About.

By Rufus Rockwell Wilson, Author of "Rambles in Colonial Byways," Etc.

THIRD party movements have during the past seventy years played a curious and somewhat fatal part in our political history. The first of these was the anti-Masonic party, which participated in the Presidential canvass of 1832, and for several years after made its influence felt in State and National elections. In 1828 William Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., who had published a book revealing some of the secrets of the Masonic fraternity, was spirited off to Niagara. Members of the order were accused of making away with him, and when in the following year the body of a man, in an advanced state of decomposition, was found on the shores of Lake Ontario, Morgan's wife and other persons who had known him declared that it was that of the missing man, though others who examined the body declared it to be that of another man who had disappeared a few months before. Be this as it may, a strong prejudice was thus created against the Masonic order, and a party hostile to the election of Masons to office was founded in New York and soon spread over half a dozen of the Northern States. In 1832 William Wirt, who had been the Attorney-General of the United States for twelve years, was the anti-Masonic candidate for President, and received the electoral votes of Vermont. A few years later the party's existence came to an end, but in 1840, the Whigs, because he was a Mason, put aside Clay and made Harrison their candidate. Had Clay been the Whig nominee in that year, nothing is more certain than that he would have triumphed at the polls.

The Liberty Party.
The second of the third parties to appear on the stage was the Liberty party, which had for its creed the abolition of slavery, and which, in 1840, and again in 1844, chose James G. Birney as its candidate for President. Birney was one of the remarkable figures of the troubled era that preceded the Civil war. He was born in Kentucky in 1782, read law in Philadelphia, began practice at Danville in his native State, and at the age of twenty-four was elected a member of the Kentucky Legislature. Two years later, seeing the paths to high political station were crowded in Kentucky, he removed to Alabama, where he had a brief and stormy career as lawyer, planter and politician. Chosen a member of the first

Legislature of Alabama, he destroyed all chance of political preferment by refusing to pledge himself to the support of Andrew Jackson, then at the height of his popularity, while bad management of his plantation soon reduced him to financial straits and compelled him to resume the active practice of the law, which had been interrupted by his political labors. He never again held public office except two years, when he was Mayor of Huntsville, but refused to accept a salary for his services. Birney's career as an anti-slavery organizer and agitator began soon after his retirement from that post. He seems to have been early persuaded of the horrors of the slavery system, and in 1833, returning to Kentucky, he began the crusade against it which ended only with his death. He freed his own slaves in 1834, organized the Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society in the same year, and in 1835, finding it impossible to obtain in Kentucky a publisher for the anti-slavery paper he proposed to issue, he removed to Cincinnati, and there started the Philanthropist. But even in Cincinnati his existence was a stormy one, his press being repeatedly destroyed by mobs. Nevertheless, he made his paper a power among thinking people, and soon his services to the cause became so valuable that in 1837 he was chosen secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He then removed to New York, and became so conspicuous in that organization that in 1840 and again in 1844 he obtained the unanimous nomination of the Liberty party for President.

Caused Defeat of Clay.
Though Birney received only 1,000 votes in 1840 and 42,000 in 1844, his candidacy in the latter year decided the result of the election. In 1844 Clay, then at the flood-tide of his popularity, was the candidate of the Whigs, and Polk the nominee of the Democrats. The annexation of Texas, to which the Democracy was committed, was the dominant issue of the hour. The Whig platform was silent upon the subject, but subsequently Clay wrote his so-called "Baltimore letter," in which he announced his opposition to annexation; then, alarmed by the dissatisfaction of his friends in the South, he wrote again, this time the "Alabama" letter, in which he temporized with the burning question. He could not have contributed more effectively to his own undoing. His vacillating course failed to restate him in Southern favor, and it cost him much of his Northern support. Birney's popular vote of 290,000 was sufficient to turn New York and Michigan from the Whigs and to give Polk a majority of sixty-five in the Electoral College. Thus Birney's candidacy in 1844 put an end to Clay's lifelong ambition to reach the presidency, made possible the entrance of Texas into the Union as a slave State, and vitally and profoundly influenced the entire subsequent history of the country. Birney's career after 1844 was an uneventful one, for in 1846 a fall from a horse disabled him physically and compelled him to withdraw from all active participation in politics. The home of his last days was in Perth Amboy, N. J., where he died in 1857, just four years before the beginning of the armed contest precipitated by the champions of

the system which he had combated for a generation.

Free Soil Defeated Cass.

The next third party to figure in National affairs also turned the scale in a Presidential election. This was the Free Soil party, which, founded in 1848, took for its creed the Wilmot proviso of 1846, and continued its efforts to excluding slavery from the Territories. A dominant element in the new party, however, was the New York Barnburners, or anti-slavery Democrats, who hailed Van Buren to wreak revenge on the Democratic party for refusing their idol the Presidential nomination in 1844 than they were to bar slavery from the Territories. When Cass, whose aspirations had been checked by the Democratic National convention of 1844 and given the nomination to Polk, was made the Democratic candidate in 1848, the Barnburners bent upon his defeat, secured control of the Free Soil National convention, and nominated Van Buren on a platform declaring for "free soil, free speech and free men." This maneuver lost New York to the Democracy, and sealed the fate of Cass. Taylor, the Whig candidate, received a majority of this vote. In the electoral college, Van Buren, who had polled 291,283 popular votes, a fourth of which were Democratic, retired to become the sage of the village of Kinderhook, while Cass continued in public life undisturbed, showing his real greatness in the serenity with which he accepted defeat.

In 1862 the Presidential nominee of the Free Soil party, which now called itself the Free Democracy, was John P. Hale of New Hampshire, one of the most winning and admirable figures in the history of the anti-slavery movement. Hale began life as a Democrat, and in 1843 was chosen as the representative of his district in Congress, but, breaking with his party over the annexation of Texas, failed of re-election. He then made a memorable canvass of his State, as a candidate for Senator, and at its close won the seat which, save for a brief interregnum, he held for sixteen years. Hale possessed a voice singularly adapted for oratory, and he had carefully cultivated it so that it was possible for him, without seeming effort, to speak so that he could be heard by thousands thronging a great distance. His voice was mellow and charming, and so were his manners. Though for several years the only avowed anti-slavery man in the Senate, a fact which made him the target of the fiercest abuse, he had perfect command of his temper, and was a master of the art of making a soft answer turn away wrath.

The Bouts of Hale.

Those who most violently assailed Hale in debate were often in private life his devoted friends, as a pleasant anecdote related by Nathan Sargent bears witness. In 1850 the presence of a pro-slavery mob in Washington prompted Hale to introduce in the Senate a resolution providing for the reimbursement of persons whose property should be destroyed by riotous assemblies, and a pro-slavery, quick-tempered Irishman, who then represented Mississippi in the Senate, denounced this resolution as intended to protect "negro stealing," adding that he had come to Mississippi to head the mob which would hang the nearest tree, and that he (Foote) would cheerfully assist his executioner. It was a most unfortunate speech for Foote, who, as a matter of fact, was on most intimate terms with Hale. His remarks, less than forty-eight hours, were burdened with letters filled with caustic reprimand, and within a week he was known all over the North as Hangman Foote.

One morning a month later, a young woman from New Hampshire called upon Hale and asked him to interfere for her brother, who had been arrested for some offense. Hale told her that he could do nothing, but that he had a card to send her, and he told her to go to Foote. When the girl had told her story, Foote said that he thought he would be able to help her, and that he would see the Secretary of the Treasury the next day. He did so, and came away with a pardon for the young woman's brother. She went with Hale to Foote's committee-room, and he told her of his success. Then Hale, turning to her, said: "My dear young lady, when you go back to your brother, tell him that your brother is out of his trouble, just say to him, will you? that he was released through the intervention of no other person than the Senator who is called in New Hampshire as Hangman Foote, and who is now about to hang me if I went to Mississippi. What he has done for you and your brother is the sort of a hangman he is." Here Hale put his arm around Foote's shoulder, and the Mississippi Senator was affected to tears.

Hale, as the Presidential candidate of the Free Democracy, cut but a minor figure in the election returns of 1852, polling only 135,000 popular votes. The following year, however, in 1854, he had gone back to the regular Democracy; whose candidate, Pierce, scored an overwhelming victory. Hale continued in the Senate a dozen years or more, and, long enough to reduce to a mere dream of slavery and the restoration of the Union. Owing, however, to the machinations of a handful of small-fry politicians in New Hampshire, his last days were spent in comparative obscurity. He died in 1874, but his name was still in the Senate which he had earned the right to fill so long as he should care to remain in public life.

The "Know Nothing" Campaign.

The Presidential campaign of 1856 brought to the fore the most powerful of all the third parties which have appeared in American politics, the Know Nothing party of a more recent time. This was the Know Nothing, or American party, originally an oath-bound order formed for the avowed purpose of checking the influence of foreign-born voters. Because of its members' displayed utter ignorance of its existence, they became known as Know Nothings. In 1854, the year in which the Republican party was born, the Know Nothings carried Massachusetts and Delaware, and in 1855 they swept the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Kentucky and California. Then relaxing most of their severity and adopting the platform of an American party, in 1856 they nominated Millard Fillmore for President, and in so doing brought defeat to the Republicans. Fromont, the nominee of the latter party, carried eleven Northern States, but the interposition of Fillmore's candidacy lost him Pennsylvania and Illinois, and assured the election of Buchanan, the Democratic candidate. Fillmore carried one State, Maryland, and his popular vote was 874,000, compared with 1,300,000 for Fremont and 1,800,000 for Buchanan. In the campaign of 1860 there were many voters who refused to take their place in the Republican party, but Lincoln as the candidate of the Union, of the warring factions of the Democracy, one of which had nominated Douglas and the other Breckinridge. This body of voters was composed chiefly of Know Nothings and old Whigs, reinforced by a sprinkling of ultra-conservative Democrats and timid Republicans, who rightfully feared that the election of Lincoln would precipitate secession and Civil war. These adopted the name of Constitutional Unionists, and elected to a middle course between the two great parties on the slavery issue, nominated Bell and Everett, on a platform which declared vaguely for the "Constitution of the country, the Union of the States and the enforcement of the laws." Though the stars fought against the Constitutional Unionists, they nevertheless polled a pop-

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The best value for the least money can be obtained by all of those who will visit our Lawn Department this week.

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A beautiful line of 12 1/2c. Figured Lawns and Organdies; selling price now.....	8 1/3c
50c. White Dotted Swiss, with black dot, now.....	12 1/2c
All Mercerized and Silk Gingham; 38c. quality, reduced to.....	12 1/2c
A beautiful assortment of Figured Batiste, makes up like silk, the very thing for summer outings; 26c. quality, only.....	12 1/2c
All remnants of Thin Goods, reduced to half their original price.	
25c. Linen Crash for skirts and shirt-waist suits, now.....	16 3/4c

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\$10.00 Foulard Silk Suits, now.....	\$7.50
\$15.00 Taffeta Suits, now.....	\$12.50
\$20.00 Taffeta Suits, in black and colors.....	\$15.00
\$25.00 Taffeta Coat and Eton Suits, now.....	\$20.00

Jap Silk Waists Reduced

Our \$3.98 values in White Japanese Silk Waists, cluster tucking and lace trimmed, at \$2.08 and.....

\$5 values in White and Black Jap. Waists, hemstitched tucks back and front, at.....	\$3.98
\$7.48 values daintily trimmed in lace with bertha and tucks, now \$5.00 and.....	\$6.48

Sale Summer Knit Underwear

Ladies' and Children's.

Ladies' 25c. Lisle Richelle Ribbed Vests, run of mill, 17c., and three for.....	50c
Ladies' Swiss Ribbed Shaped Bleached Vests, silk tape in neck and sleeves; 25c. value, for.....	15c
Ladies' 19c. Ingrain Ribbed Vests, excellent quality, all sizes, for.....	12 1/2c
Jersey Swiss Ribbed Vests, pure, soft and silk finish; 12 1/2c. value for 8c. and.....	9c
Ladies' Vests, run of the mill, tape neck.....	5c
Boys' 25c. Balbriggan Shirts and Drawers, long sleeve and ankle length, special.....	15c

Any Lady, Anywhere,

who is employed in office, store, school, factory or at home, who by her own efforts contributes in part or wholly to her own support will be eligible to compete for a Tee-Dee Outing.

There will be fourteen parties, each consisting of two young ladies and a chaperone. The ladies are to be voted for in pairs on the same coupon, and each pair will have the privilege of appointing their own chaperone. The pair receiving the highest number of votes will be elected Party No. 1, the next highest Party No. 2, etc. Party No. 1 will have the privilege of making choice of the resorts; Party No. 2 the next, and so on.

"Consolation Prize" will be given to one party selected from those, who, while failing to win one of the original fourteen prizes, have at the close of the contest not less than 1,000 votes.

BALLOT STATIONS

Where Tee-Dee coupons may be cast. Collections will be made weekly.

TIME-DEE OFFICE, No. 916 East Main Street.	W. F. EAMES' DRUG STORE, Twenty-fifth and Leigh Streets.
T. A. MILLER'S DRUG STORE, No. 519 East Broad Street.	PINE-STREET PHARMACY, No. 334 South Pine Street.
THOMPSON'S DRUG STORE, No. 1521 West Main Street.	RADY'S DRUG STORE, Barton Heights.
PEOPLE'S DRUG STORE, 3300 Williamsburg Avenue, Fulton.	W. J. CARTER'S DRUG STORE, Manchester.

TEE-DEE RESORTS AND PRIZES.

THE TOXAWAY (5) HOTELS.
This magnificent system consists of the New Toxaway Inn, at Lake Toxaway, N. C.; The Franklin, at Brevard, N. C.; The Lodge on Mount Toxaway, N. C.; The Park, at Brevard, N. C.; The Fairfield Inn, on Lake Fairfield, Sapphine, N. C.; Sapphine Inn, on Lake Sapphine, Sapphine, N. C. The two parties who win the right to take this trip will be given their choice of the five hotels.

THE CHAMBERLIN HOTEL,
Old Point, Va.

THE MECKLENBURG HOTEL,
Chase City, Va.

THE OCEAN VIEW HOTEL,
Ocean View, Va.

THE JEFFERSON PARK HOTEL,
Charlottesville, Va.

THE PRINCESS ANNE HOTEL,
Virginia Beach, Va.

MT. ELLIOT SPRINGS,
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CONSOLATION PRIZE TRIP.—Old Dominion steamship to New York, day boat up the Hudson River to Albany, New York Central Railroad to Clayton, N. Y., steamer down St. Lawrence River, through Thousand Islands and Rapids to Montreal, Canada, thence by rail to Lake Umbagog, Sapphine, N. C. Two weeks stay at Abernethy Springs. Return by New York Central Railroad via Adirondack mountains to New York to Norfolk via Old Dominion steamship, thence to Richmond, rail or by James River boat.

\$500 FIRE INSURANCE POLICY, issued by VIRGINIA STATE FIRE INSURANCE CO.

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FREE TRANSFER OF BAGGAGE to and from depots on leaving and arrival Richmond, furnished by RICHMOND TRANSFER CO.

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NOTE THIS. When depositing 10 or more ballots, put them up in packages and mark number contained in each package on wrapper of same. Do not put more than 100 ballots in any one package.

TEE-DEE 1904

Summer Outing Tours.

This coupon is good for one vote for the young ladies named below, if deposited on or before

JULY 15th.

Miss _____

Miss _____

The Times Dispatch

ular vote of 590,000, and carried the States of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee with an electoral vote of thirty-nine, the largest vote in the Electoral College ever gained by any minor party. Lincoln had a popular vote of 1,865,904 and 150 electoral votes; and Breckinridge, nominee of the Southern wing of the Democracy, had 548,000 popular and seventy-two electoral votes, while Douglas had 1,375,000 popular votes, but in the Electoral College received only Missouri's nine votes and three of New Jersey's seven.

Liberal Republicans; Green-backers.

The first third party to appear in the field after the Civil war period was the Liberal Republican, which, in 1872, with Greeley as its candidate and the late President Grant as its opponent, carried six States, with sixty-three electoral votes, as compared with 285 electoral votes received by Grant. The campaign of 1872 also marked the entrance of the Prohibition party, which had a ticket in the field every subsequent Presidential canvass. Though the Prohibitionists have never attained an electoral vote or elected a member of Congress, it is more than probable that in one of the Presidential canvasses they decided the contest. The 25,000 votes in New York which in 1844 went to the Democrats, and the 18,000 votes of three-fourths of which were doubtless diverted from the Republicans, made possible Cleveland's plurality of 1,047 over Blaine in that State. Cleveland's electoral vote was 219 and Blaine's 182. If New York had gone Republican, Blaine's total electoral vote would have been 218, and he, instead of Cleveland, would have been President.

The Greenback party, the distinctive tenet in whose creed was the issue of currency directly by the government, to the exclusion of the banks, came into existence in 1874, and in 1876, 1880 and 1884 had Presidential tickets in the field. It never obtained an electoral vote, but it from time to time chose many members of Congress, and in 1880, when James B. Weaver was its candidate for President, it polled 307,366 popular votes. It ceased to figure in the National election returns after 1884, but its doctrine of fiat money supplied the leading article for the creed of the Union Labor party, which in 1888, with Alson J. Streeter as its candidate for President, polled 148,000 votes. The Union Labor party of more recent years may also be said to be the National successor of the Greenback party, for in its first National convention held at Omaha in

1892, two years after it first came to the front as a powerful political factor, it declared itself against the issue of gold bonds and the National banking system, and in favor of an increase in greenbacks, the free coinage of silver, at the ratio of sixteen to one, a graduated income tax, government control of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, and the abolition of alien ownership of land.

Populists and Weaver.

In 1892 the Populists, with James B. Weaver as their candidate for President, secured twenty-two electoral votes, and gained more than a million popular votes. Four years later they did not make an independent nomination, but supported Bryan for President, although they rejected Sewell, Bryan's Democratic running mate, and put up Thomas E. Watson for Vice-President. In 1900 the bulk of the Populists again endorsed Bryan, but the more radical element repudiated this action and nominated Wharton Barker for President. In 1894 the Populists polled only a small fraction over 60,000 votes. Woolley, the Prohibitionist candidate in that year, polled four times as many votes as Barker, who was defeated by Debs, the nominee of the Social Democracy. Indeed, the significant feature of the minor election returns of 1900 was the great gain over previous years in the vote polled by the various Socialist sects. Socialism does not thrive as vigorously in the United States as in France and Germany, but it promises to become a force with which American statesmen will have to reckon in the not remote future.

Though the career of most of the third parties has been a brief one, it will be seen from this review that they more than once exerted a decisive influence on Presidential elections. The Liberty party in 1844, the Free Soil party in 1848, the Know Nothing party in 1856, and the Prohibition party in 1892, and the Social Democracy in 1900, have each, in their own way, played a part in the history of the Nation. Should the pending contest prove a close one, history may repeat itself.

FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

(Special to The Times-Dispatch.)
FREDERICKSBURG, VA., July 8.—To-day, with the Fourth of July festivities, the week here has been quite a lively one. There have been a number of small dances and parties, visitors have been arriving and Fredericksburgers going off to the World's Fair and summer resorts.

Mrs. B. J. Denny and children have gone to Amelia Courthouse to spend the summer.

Miss S. C. Williams, who has been visiting Miss Sallie Montgomery, has returned to her home in Culpeper.

Mrs. T. P. Campbell, of Richmond, who has been the guest of relatives here, has returned home.

Mrs. John T. Goelrick has returned from a visit to Judge Mason's family, in King George county, in Culpeper.

Major and Mrs. T. E. Morris are en-journing at Covington.

Miss Chalmers, of Halifax county, is the guest of Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Lane.

Mr. and Mrs. R. H. King, of Waycross, Ga., visited Mrs. King's mother, Mrs. Ann C. King, at her home here this week.

Mrs. E. J. Smith has gone to King George to spend some time with relatives.

Mr. Wistar W. Braxton, of London, is visiting his mother and sisters here.

or other social functions this week; no weddings or rumors of weddings. The glorious Fourth was observed by the closing of banks and postoffice, and there were a few picnic excursions, but the day was one of Sabbath-like stillness, and there are no casualties to report from gunpowder, fire crackers, etc.

Miss Melita Wilson is visiting friends in Christiansburg.

Miss Eva Hatcher, of Lynchburg, after visiting her sister, Mrs. T. M. Turner, left Wednesday for Bluefield to visit Mrs. Hugh C. Jordan.

Messrs. Rob and Ashby Henry, who have been attending the Pennsylvania Textile School, are visiting friends in town a few days, en route to their home in Tusculum.

Mr. and Mrs. George B. Kimball are spending a few days at Mountain Lake.

Among the guests of Rev. and Mrs. Edwin R. Carter this week were Mrs. Walter Boyd, of Nelson; Mrs. Albert Gravelly, of Martinsville; Mr. Robert Withers and son, of Pittsburg; Miss Royal Carter, Miss Alice Carter and Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, of Evansville, Ind.

Miss Mazie Jordan is visiting relatives in Paulsboro.

Winchester to Annex.

(Special to The Times-Dispatch.)
WINCHESTER, VA., July 8.—The Common Council of Winchester has taken preliminary steps toward annexing considerable territory in Frederick county, and a committee has been appointed to supply the necessary data for legal action at the Council's next meeting. If the scheme materializes it means that about half a million dollars' worth of real estate will be incorporated, the city will be more symmetrical in shape and the population will be greatly increased by the addition of hundreds who now enjoy the many privileges had by residents of the city without sharing their portion of the municipal burden. Of course, it is expected that the county will object, with the exception of those who live in the districts to be annexed.

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